Archipel

# An Acehnese Style of Manuscript Illumination

Annabel Teh Gallop

**Résumé**
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Il se trouve probablement, dans les collections publiques du monde entier, plus de manuscrits en provenance d'Aceh que de tout autre royaume malais. Un examen de ces manuscrits, qui datent pour la plupart de la fin du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècles et qui traitent principalement de sujets religieux, permet d'identifier un style d'enluminure particulier. Ces enluminures prennent habituellement la forme d'un double cadre décoré sur deux pages opposées, d'un fleuron marquant le début du texte et d'un cul-de-lampe ornant le colophon ou les dernières lignes du texte. Les plus beaux exemples se trouvent dans des copies du Coran. Les traits caractéristiques de ce «style acihais» d'enluminure sont analysés en termes de structure, de motifs ornementaux et de palette de couleurs. Puis, sont examinés les facteurs qui ont pu influer sur la présence de telles enluminures dans les manuscrits.

# IMAGES

*ANNABEL TEH GALLOP*

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## Introduction

The Dutch war against Aceh, which broke out in 1873 and dragged on into the early 20th century, had enormous repercussions for the manuscript culture of Aceh. During this long conflict, large numbers of manuscripts in Malay, Arabic and Acehnese were captured by the Dutch and taken as war booty. Some of these manuscripts entered the collection of the Bataviaasch Genootschap and are now held in the National Library of Indonesia (PNRI) in Jakarta, while many others found their way to the Netherlands, ending up in Leiden University Library (LUB), the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT) in Amsterdam and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (RMV) in Leiden, as well as in a number of other institutions. A new feature that differentiated this military campaign from earlier ones was that through the interest of Christian Snouck Hurgronje and others, for the first time large numbers of Islamic manuscripts such as copies of the Qur'an, prayer books, and works on doctrine and practice were seized, with a view to augmenting Dutch collections. This was a significant departure from the much more narrow focus on literary and historical manuscripts which had characterised previous Dutch collecting expeditions (1), as well as the British collections of Indonesian manuscripts formed in the early 19th century and later (2).

1. For a discussion of the 1821 expedition in which Abdul Kadir was sent by Governor of Melaka to collect "treatises in the Malay language, and romances, stories and narratives of olden days", see Proudfoot 2003.

2. No Qur'ans can be traced in the manuscript collections formed in the Malay world by Raffles, Mackenzie and Farquhar in the early 19th century, or by Wilkinson, Winstedt and Maxwell in the early 20th century (cf. Gallop 2002 : 237). Prior to the last decade of the 20th

A second wave of outpouring of manuscripts from Aceh has taken place in more recent times. Over the past two decades, as a result of both economic factors and political instability, large numbers of manuscripts from Aceh – nearly all on religious subjects – have left Indonesia and have been acquired by institutions and libraries in Malaysia and Brunei, most notably by the Malay Manuscripts Centre which was formed in 1984 at the National Library of Malaysia. One consequence of these upheavals is that there are probably more manuscripts from Aceh preserved in public collections today than from any other Malay kingdom. Furthermore, despite the outflow there still appear to be substantial numbers of manuscripts in Aceh itself, especially in the Museum Negeri Aceh, the Dayah Tanoh Abee and the Yayasan Ali Hasjmy in Banda Aceh(3), as well as in private hands.

From a survey of this sizeable corpus of manuscripts, a very distinctive style of illumination can be identified, manifest in number of different formats : a pair of illuminated frames covering two facing pages, a single ornamental headpiece at the start of a text, a tailpiece adorning the triangular tapered end of a text, and decorative corner pieces. So far, over 120 manuscripts have been found which exhibit at least one of these types of illumination. They may be written in Arabic, Malay or Acehnese, but the most significant feature is that nearly all concern Islamic matters; there are almost no historical or non-religious literary works which exhibit these examples of illumination. Forty-nine of the manuscripts are Qur'ans; the others include prayer books, theological treatises in Malay generically termed *kitab jawi*, or works in Arabic which may include subjects like grammar traditionally regarded as part of the curriculum of religious learning. Few are dated, and not all colophons have been identified and studied, but among the earliest examples of illumination in this characteristic style may be the surviving left-hand page of an illuminated double frame at the beginning of a manuscript of *Mir'at al-tullāb* by Abdul Rauf of Singkel dated 1764(4) (Pl. 4). A few other manuscripts bear dates from the second half of the 18th century, while the majority were probably copied and illuminated in the 19th century. All are listed in the Appendix.

century, only four complete copies of the Qur'an from Southeast Asia had been documented in British public collections : one in the Marsden collection at SOAS (MS 12716); two from Java in the Crawfurd collection in the British Library (Add.12312, Add.12343); and one with an interlinear Malay translation in the Royal Asiatic Society (Arabic No.4). Since 1996, seven more Southeast Asian Qur'ans have been acquired by the British Library, including two from Aceh.

3. Based on observations by the present writer during a visit to Aceh in November 1993.

4. A manuscript of the *Sirāt al-mustaqīm* (LUB Cod.Or.7591) with a badly-damaged illuminated double frame and decorated colophon bears the date 1103 (1691/92 AD) and is said to be written on watermarked paper consistent with a 17th-century dating (Iskandar 1999 : 450), but the illumination and hand of this manuscript are standard for 19th-century manuscripts from Aceh, and further investigation would be needed to confirm a 17th-century date for this manuscript.

## Genres of Acehnese illumination

In the course of the present study on the art of the Islamic book in Southeast Asia, "illumination" is interpreted very broadly to mean any graphic device utilised to enhance the written word. Examples of illumination range from the large-scale, such as lavish decorated frames covering the outer margins of the page, to the minor, such as small decorative markers employed within a text or in the margin. A range of colours may be used, including metallic colours such as gold or silver, but some fine examples may be monochrome, executed only in the same black or red ink used for the text. Not included in the parameters of this study, however, are illustrations, i.e. narrative pictorial scenes enacting or elaborating on the contents of the text, or esoteric diagrams often found in amulets and mystical works.

There are certain examples of major forms of illumination common to books from throughout the Islamic world. In books written in Latin script – whether manuscript or printed – the text usually commences on the right-hand side of a double-page opening, with the second page of the text found overleaf from the first, on the left-hand side of the next double-page opening. In books written in Arabic script and all its variants, from any Islamic region, the convention is otherwise : the text usually begins on a right-hand page (often the verso of the first folio), and continues onto the facing left-hand page (the recto of the second folio). In some manuscripts, the start of the text is highlighted by an ornamental panel or "headpiece" placed above the opening lines at the top of the right-hand page, while in more lavish books, a decorated double frame encloses the text blocks on the two facing pages. Similarly, illumination may also be found at the end of the text. Quintessentially Islamic is the triangular tapered shape of a colophon or the end of a text, the lines gradually and gracefully decreasing in length down to a single word, a single letter and then even a single dot, and the resulting triangular spaces on either side of the tapered text are sometimes filled with decoration.

The concept of the "double-page spread" is crucial to Islamic book design, and many of the decorative devices used by scribes and illuminators were designed to enhance the concept of two facing pages as an aesthetic and artistic whole. Therefore, the decorated double frames which enclose the text on two facing pages are often symmetrical about the gutter of the book, with more substantive ornamentation on the three outer sides than on the inner vertical side. This encourages the visual contemplation of the double-page spread as a single unit rather than as two separate pages. Even when a single headpiece is found only on the right-hand page of a double-page spread, its placement is usually noticeably in harmony with the proportions of text and margins of both facing pages.

The main genres of Acehnese illumination – decorated double frames, single headpieces, and tailpieces – can thus all be seen as deriving firmly

from the broader Islamic tradition. Nonetheless, their Acehnese identity is immediately evident through their strong adherence to certain recognized norms of form, colour and ornamental motif, which are discussed below.

***A. Double frames***

The supreme showcase for the skill of the Acehnese manuscript illuminator was the decorated double frame surrounding the textblock on two facing pages of a manuscript, and it is in these that we find the finest examples of manuscript illumination from Aceh. Moreover, it can be shown that the other genres of Acehnese illumination such as single headpieces and tailpieces derive from or make constant reference to the constituent elements of double frames. Therefore, double frames will be described in considerable detail in terms of their structure, the range of ornamental motifs used, and their colour palette.

*Structure*

The most characteristic features of the archicture or structure of double frames in Acehnese manuscripts can be summarised as follows (see Fig. 1) :

- The textblock on each page – which is smaller than that in the rest of the manuscript – is surrounded by a decorated rectangular border or series of borders.
- The outer vertical boundaries of these rectangular borders are extended up and down to form two columns flanking the textblock on left and right. The tops and bottoms of these columns always slope inwards, usually in an undulating line.
- On the three outer sides of the decorated border surrounding the textblock (i.e. above and below the textblock, and facing the outer vertical edge of the page) are arches, usually in the shape of lobed ogival domes, but sometimes semicircular or triangular.
- The arch above the textblock is often flanked by two half-arches, which rise up to meet the tips of the vertical columns on either side of the textblock; this arrangement is mirrored with the arch below the textblock.
- The arch on the outer vertical side is flanked by two "wings", which range in size from delicate foliate tendrils to more substantial constructs.
- Finials may project from the cusps of any or all of the arches, and/or from their troughs.

Although the most remarkable feature of many Acehnese illuminated manuscripts is the degree of conformity with this prototype, small variations

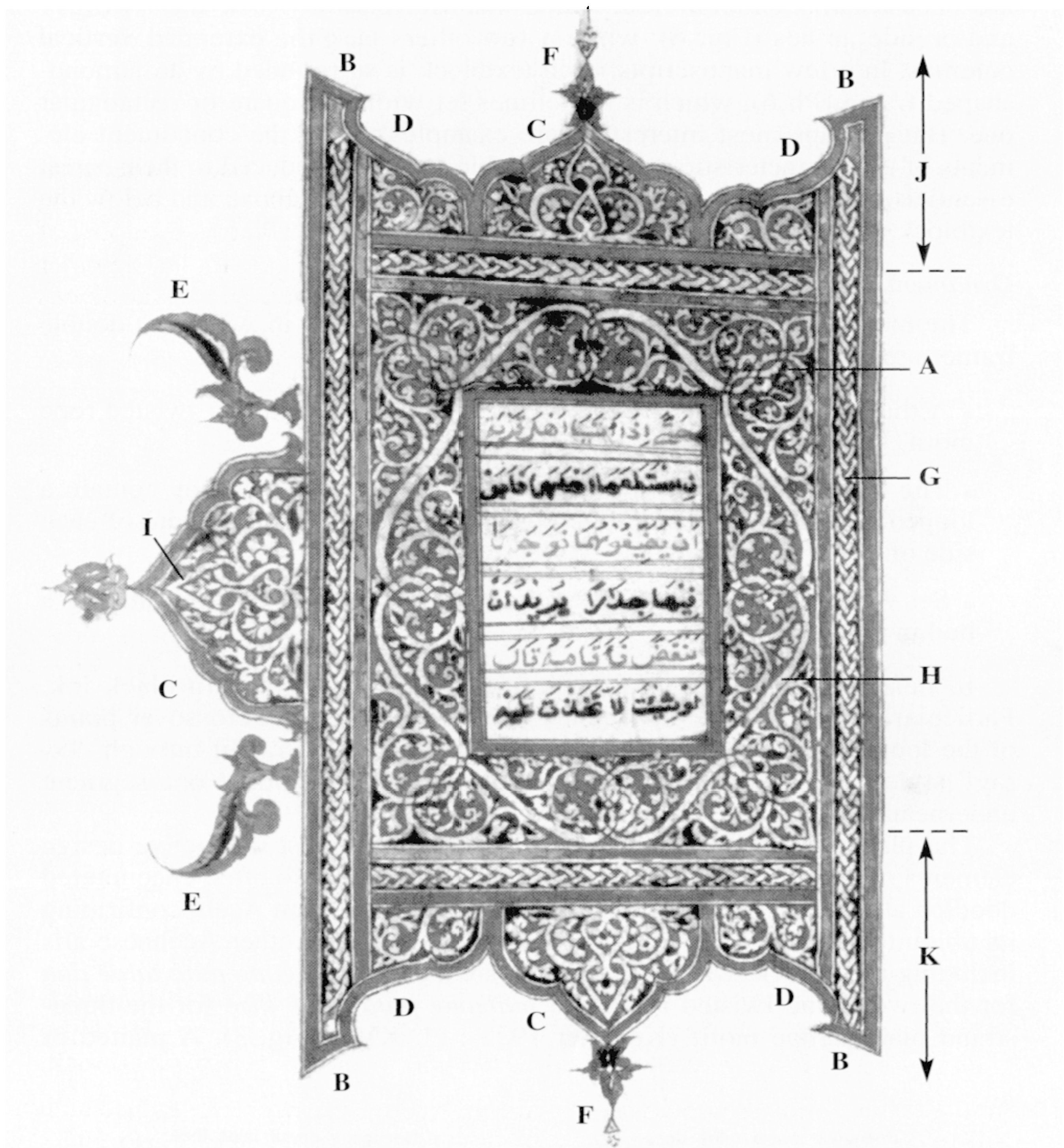



Fig. 1 – All the characteristic constituent elements of Acehnese illumination are present in this double frame from a Qur'an : A – decorated frame surrounding textblock ; B – extended verticals, sloping in at top and bottom ; C – arches on the three outer sides ; D – half-arches flanking the top and bottom arches ; E – "wings" flanking the side arches ; F – finials on the cusps and/or troughs of the arches ; G – plaited or twisted rope motif ; H – looped vine motif around the text block ; I – bud motif in the arches ; J – the upper section of the double frame that serves as a model for the single headpiece ; K – the lower section of the double frame that serves as a model for the lower section of the tailpiece. KIT 674/845.b.

are occasionally encountered. Some manuscripts may lack the "wings" and/or side arches (Fig. 6), while a few others lack the extended vertical columns. In a few manuscripts, each textblock is surrounded by a diamond-shaped frame (Pl. 6), which is sometimes set within a square or rectangular one. But perhaps most interesting are examples where the constituent elements of the characteristic Acehnese double frame are reduced to their barest essentials, for example, with arches which simply hover above and below the textblock, present yet unattached to the "superstructure" (Pl. 5).

*Ornamentation*

The most frequently-found ornamental motifs found in Acehnese double frames are noted below :

- A thin horizontal or vertical border containing a plaited or twisted rope motif.
- The decorative rectangular border around the textblock may contain a looped vine, usually rising to a loose intersection at the midpoint of each side of the textblock.
- Set within the arches may be a pear-shaped trefoil motif resembling a bud in profile.

In nearly all manuscripts, the motif is double-outlined in black ink. Particularly characteristic of Acehnese illumination is that crossover points of the looped vine or other foliate elements are drawn straight through, "x-ray" style, with no attempt to suggest perspective by hiding one segment underneath another.

The plaited or twisted rope motif is one of the most distinctive design elements of Acehnese illuminated manuscripts, and is also often encountered doodled at the beginning or end of other manuscripts from Aceh, confirming its ubiquitous presence (Fig. 2). It was also a feature of other Acehnese arts including metalwork, where the designs are labelled *bungong puta taloë dua* for the two-strand twisted rope, and *bungong puta taloë lheë* for the three-strand plaited rope motif (Kreemer 1922 : Pl. XVII; Fig. 3). A plaited or

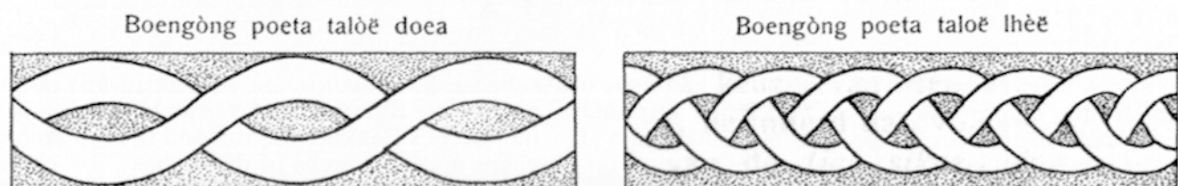



Fig. 2 – Twisted and plaited rope designs (after Kreemer 1922 : I.Pl.XVII)



Fig. 3 – Doodled twisted and plaited rope motifs on the first page of a manuscript seized during the Aceh war containing Arabic grammatical texts. LUB Cod.Or.2336A, f.1r

twisted rope is of course an ancient ornamental motif which occurs all over the world, but it is noteworthy that the rope motif is hardly ever found in illuminated manuscripts from Southeast Asia apart from in Aceh.

*Palette*

The range of pigments used in Acehnese manuscripts is limited, and is dominated by red, yellow and black. The yellow may vary widely in tone from lemon yellow and ochre through to orange. It is noteworthy that gold is almost never used in manuscript illumination from Aceh, although it is relatively common in illuminated manuscripts from other parts of Southeast Asia such as the east coast of the Malay peninsula, Java, southern Kalimantan and Sulawesi. Black may be present only in the black ink of the outline design, or black pigment may be used more substantially. Occasionally, other colours such as green, brown or blue are found. How these pigments were manufactured is not known, although the degradation in some manuscripts in areas of black pigment suggests the corrosive presence of iron gall.

Arguably the most important colour in the palette of the Acehnese artist is actually a non-colour, or rather the absence of colour : reserved white, represented by the background colour of the paper. Thus in all Acehnese illuminated manuscripts, the motif is drawn in double outline in black ink (cf. Fig. 4) and the background elements of the design are then coloured in, leaving the main ornamental features – whether a plaited or twisted rope motif, or the looped vine motif mentioned above – standing out in white against a coloured backdrop.

It is sufficiently common to encounter manuscripts from Aceh with monochrome double frames or headpieces, with the decoration outlined solely in black ink, to suggest that such uncoloured frames should not simply be regarded as "unfinished" manuscripts but were seen as a valid form of decoration in their own right (Figs. 5, 6, 7). Nonetheless, it is also relatively common to find manuscripts with partially coloured-in illuminated features, implying that it was not unusual for uncoloured decorative elements in manuscripts to be coloured in at a later stage.

***B. Single headpiece***

In essence, the Acehnese single headpiece is modelled on the top portion of one side of a double frame as described above, and its salient features can be summarised as follows :

- The textblock (usually on the right-hand page of a double-page spread) is surrounded by a border, the verticals of which are extended upwards. The tops of these columns always slope inwards, usually in a wavy line.

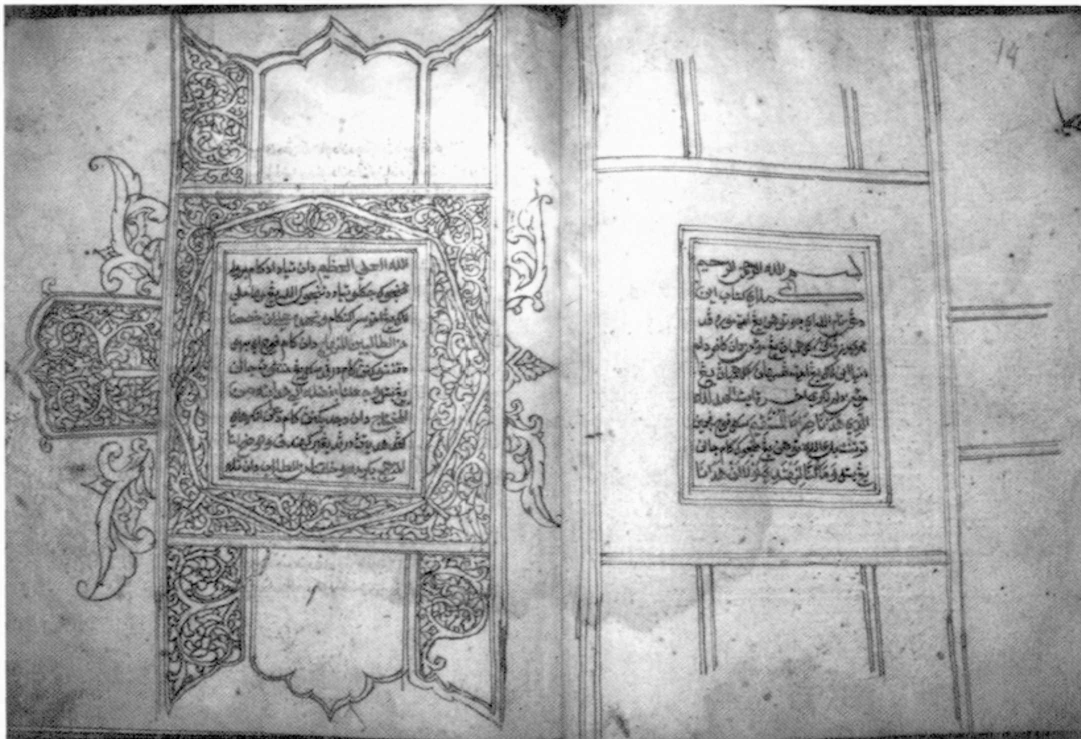


Fig. 4. – Unfinished double frame, drawn in black ink. *Sirāt al-mustaqīm*, PNRI Ml.397, pp. 14-15

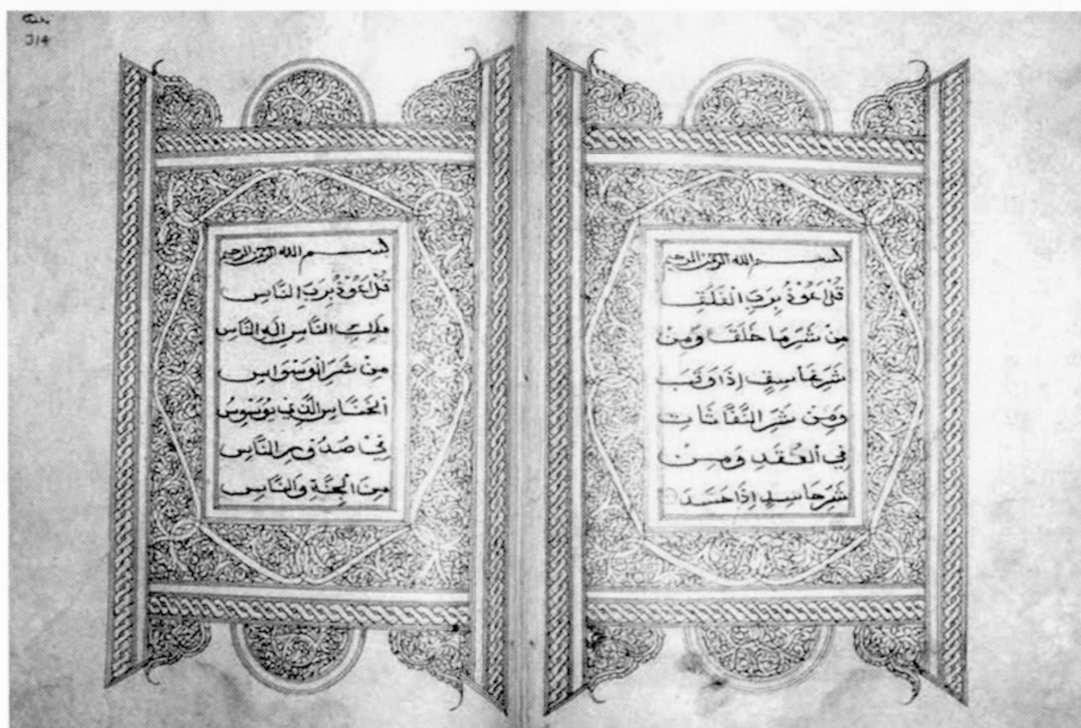


Fig. 5 – Monochrome double frame, drawn in brown ink, without side arches or 'wings'. Qur'an, *S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*. BL Or.15604, ff.313v-314r

- Above the textblock is a decorated headpiece, with a central arch rising to a peak in the middle, which is flanked on each side by two half-arches which rise to meet the tops of the vertical columns.

- Finials may project from the cusps of the central arch and side columns, and from the troughs between the central arch and the two half-arches.

- There may be a horizontal border containing a twisted or plaited rope separating the textblock and headpiece, and the central arch is usually filled with a foliate meander vine or bud motif.

- The same limited colour palette is found, consisting mainly of red, yellow, black and reserved white, and occasionally with green and brown.

Nearly all the same variations noted in the case of double frames are also encountered in single headpieces. For example, monochrome examples are often found (Fig. 6), as are headpieces that incorporate all the key structural features listed above but in the barest outline form (Pl. 10). Very occasionally, Acehnese "double headpieces" are found in manuscripts, with single headpieces on both facing pages of a double-page spread (cf. Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 42)[5].

*C. Tailpiece*

Structurally, the Acehnese illuminated tailpiece consists of two separate sections. Firstly, there are right-angled triangular decorated panels flanking the tapered text; this element is common to Islamic illuminated manuscripts throughout the Muslim world, including other parts of Southeast Asia. It is the second, lower, structural element which makes a tailpiece distinctively Acehnese, and this section is best described as an upside-down version of a single headpiece, and derives from the lower portion of one side of a double frame. The constituent elements of such an Acehnese tailpiece can be defined as follows :

- The textblock is surrounded by a border, the verticals of which are extended downwards. The bottom tips of these columns always slope inwards, usually in a wavy line.

- The two triangular panels bounded by the extended vertical borders of the textblock and the edges of the tapered final lines of text are filled with decoration, usually in the form of a foliate meander vine.

5. Double headpieces in the Acehnese style are rare, but are very common in illuminated manuscripts from other parts of the Malay world, such as the Malay peninsula and 19th-century Batavia.

- Below this triangular composition is a horizontal border, either consisting of layers of colour bands or containing a twisted or plaited rope motif.
- Below this horizontal border is a central arch which descends to a cusp, flanked by two half-arches which descend to meet the bottoms of the extended vertical borders of the text frame.
- Finials may project downwards from the cusp of the central arch and side columns, and from the troughs between the central and side arches.
- Again, the same basic Aceh palette of red, yellow, black and reserved white predominates, although monochrome examples are also found.

It should be noted that manuscripts containing double frames or single headpieces in the typically Acehnese style may quite often also have only a simple triangular tailpiece which does not include the characteristic lower arches described above (cf. Pl. 15).

### *D. Other illuminated elements*

Described above are the three major genres of Acehnese manuscript illumination, but there are also many other less substantial types of illumination found in manuscripts from Aceh. In Qur'an manuscripts, the *ayah* or verses are usually separated by coloured (mainly yellow) roundels; larger composite roundels may mark the end of a *surah* or *juz'* (thirtieth part of the Qur'anic text); and marginal ornaments indicating the start of each new *juz'* may take the form of illuminated roundels. In a popular Arabic grammatical work, the *kaf* of the initial word *kalām* is frequently elaborated decoratively (Pl. 9, see also Gallop 2004).

Although usually presented as part of an illuminated double frame or single headpiece, decorative inscription panels deserve some comment. These are panels set within a decorated frame, located above and/or below the textblock in a double frame, or above the text in a headpiece. The inscription may give the title of the work, or, in the case of the Qur'an, the *surah* heading, or it may comprise a religious formula such as the *shahadah* or the *bismillah*. Not infrequently, these are written upside-down, apparently to increase the protective qualities of such religious phrases[6] (eg. Pl. 4).

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6. The *bismillah* is written upside down in a single headpiece adorning a manuscript of the *Hikayat Meukuta Alam* in the Museum Negeri Aceh (Naskah D in Abdullah 1991). This feature is discussed further : *Menurut keterangan orang yang mengetahui, penulisan basmalah terbalik yang demikian merupakan ciri formula yang mengandung kekuatan magis. Dikatakan, apabila formula basmalah ini ditulis sedemikian rupa berbolak-balik sebanyak 211 kali akan mampu menyembuhkan orang sakit, dengan cara meminumkan air rendaman formula tadi* (Abdullah 1991 : 799), "writing the *basmalah* upside down like this turns it into a formula of magical potency. It is said that if the *basmalah* is written upside down like this

Perhaps most interesting are the inscription panels which contain the name of the owner or scribe of the manuscript (eg. Pl. 11); it is possible that this is a uniquely Acehnese phenomenon within Southeast Asian manuscripts. The calligraphic composition of these inscription panels follows the procedure for ornamental motifs : the inscription is double-outlined in black ink, and then the background is coloured in, leaving the inscription reserved in white against a coloured ground. Apparently particularly characteristic of Acehnese inscription panels is the singular treatment of the group of letters *ḫa, kha, jim* and *ca* sharing an acute angle to the right. This angle is often exaggeratedly elongated, to the extent that it intersects with the preceding letters. This feature can be seen most clearly in certain words which recur frequently in such panels, for example, the *ḫa* of *Muhammad* in the *shahadah*; the *ḫa* of *Fātihah* in the heading of the first *surah* (Fig. 8); and the *jim* of *juz'*.

But perhaps the only minor decorative elements which qualify as a quintessential feature of Acehnese illumination on a par with the major genres discussed above are corner pieces : decorative triangular brackets placed at each of the four corners of a double-page spread. They mostly occur in non-Qur'anic texts, but have also been documented in a few Qur'ans. In terms of ornamentation and palette, they share the same characteristics as other types of Acehnese illumination, with foliate meander patterns picked out in reserved white against a coloured backdrop dominated by red, yellow and black, and are especially closely related to the triangular decorative elements of tailpieces (Pl. 15).

## Factors influencing illumination in Acehnese manuscripts

There is a distinct and coherent relationship between the type of illumination used, its artistic quality, and the nature of the manuscript in which it is found. Relevant factors are the contents of the text, the location of the illuminated pages within the book, and even the size of the pages of the manuscript.

### *Genres of texts*

The great majority of examples of illuminated double frames from Aceh are found in Qur'ans. The number of illuminated double frames found in a Qur'an manuscript, and their location, can vary. Most frequently found are double frames at the beginning of the text, with another set of double frames at the end, and many – though not all – such manuscripts also have a third set of double frames at the centre. When two or three double frames are

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211 times, a person who drinks the water in which this formula has been soaked will be cured of their illness".




Fig. 6 – Monochrome single headpiece, drawn in black ink. *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, PNRI A.582, f.1a

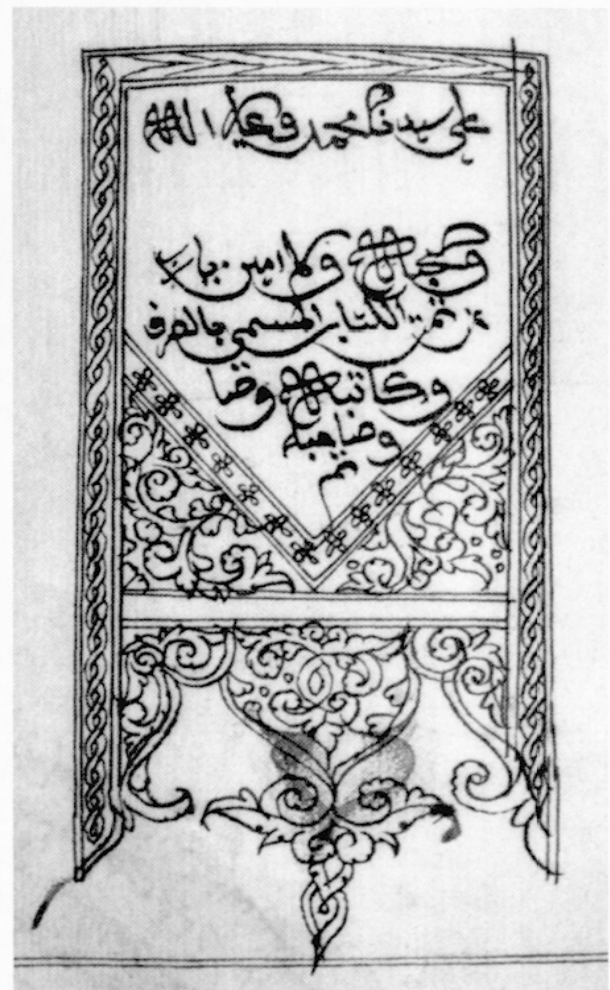


Fig. 7 – Monochrome tailpiece, drawn in black ink. Compendium of Arabic texts, RMV 164/14

found in the same manuscript, these are almost never identical but vary in terms of design and ornamentation.

The double frames at the beginning of the Qur'an always have the *Surat al-Fatihah* occupying the whole of the right-hand page and the beginning of the *Surat al-Baqarah* presented on the left-hand page, while in Qur'ans from Aceh the frames in the middle invariably enclose the start of the 16th *juz'* (Qur'an, S.18 : 75), marking the exact midpoint of the text. At the end of the manuscript, however, there is less constancy in the portions of text enclosed by double frames. The most common choice is the final two chapters of the Qur'an, with the *Surat al-Falaq* on the right-hand page and the *Surat al-Nas* on the left; in some manuscripts these chapters are in fact repeated within the illuminated frames, as the complete Qur'anic text can be found on the preceding pages. Sometimes, larger portions of text are enclosed within the frames, while in other manuscripts the final frames may enclose a prayer to be recited on the completion of the reading of the Qur'an. Most intriguing, but frequently encountered enough not to be considered an aberration, is the presence of decorated double frames enclosing blank spaces at the end of the manuscript, located after the end of the Qur'anic text. These empty final double frames have been found in at least five manuscripts (Pl. 7). The text eventually intended to occupy these frames remains a subject of speculation, but was most likely either a repetition of the final chapters of the Qur'anic text or a prayer. In other Islamic cultures, such elaborate illumination – either at the end of a manuscript, or at the beginning – often framed an inscription naming the patron for whom the manuscript had been produced, together with details of the artists and scribes involved and the place and time of copying. However, such separate colophon panels are almost never found in Southeast Asian Qur'ans (see however Pl. 2), although in Aceh manuscripts the name of the owner is sometimes given within the decorated frame or headpiece.

Apart from in Qur'ans, double frames are also found in other religious works. Most known examples are in *kitab jawi* or theological works in Malay by prominent Acehnese *ulama*, and are seemingly most often found in the phenomenally popular *Sirāt al-mustaqīm*, composed by Nuruddin al-Raniri in 1634-1644. Such manuscripts usually only contain one set of double frames on the first two facing pages of the text.

Far more common in *kitab jawi* from Aceh are single headpieces. Again, each text will usually only contain one headpiece, marking the start of the work, but manuscript anthologies or compilations of a number of different texts may contain several headpieces. Decorated headpieces are found in all types of manuscripts from Aceh containing works in Malay, Arabic and Acehnese, but significantly never in Qur'ans, which are always accorded the honour of full-page decorated double frames.

Decorated tailpieces in the Acehnese style described above are less frequently encountered than either double frames or single headpieces; however, when found they occur in both Qur'ans and non-Qur'anic texts. In Qur'ans, they are most commonly found at the precise mid-point of the text, marking the end of the 15th *juz'*, on the page preceding a double frame enclosing the start of the 16th *juz'*. It should be noted that this use of a graphic device to suggest a formal "ending" to a section within the text of the Qur'an is very unusual, and is not found in Southeast Asian Qur'ans other than those from Aceh. In non-Qur'anic manuscripts, tailpieces are used to mark the end of a text and multiple examples may therefore be found in manuscript anthologies containing several texts.

***Page size***

The type of illumination found in manuscripts from Aceh can be correlated not only with the type of text but also with the physical size of the pages of the manuscripts. Most manuscripts from Aceh are written on European laid paper with chain lines and watermarks, usually Dutch or Italian (especially with the familiar "three crescents" watermark), but the use of English paper has also been noted (cf. RMV 148/15). Qur'an manuscripts are in general large volumes of *folio* format, with each leaf or folio of the manuscript composed of a single sheet of laid paper folded in half and sometimes trimmed to fit. The folio dimensions of Qur'ans from Aceh noted in the Appendix range from 28.5 x 20 cm to 34 x 23 cm, suggesting the use of sheets of paper at least 46 x 34 cm in size prior to any folding or trimming(7). On the other hand, *kitab jawi* and other non-Qur'anic texts from Aceh tend to be smaller, written on pages created by folding the large sheet of paper twice to give four folios (this size of manuscript is termed *quarto*); manuscripts in this format have folios ranging in size from 20 x 15 cm to 23.5 x 17 cm. Smaller books are made by folding the original sheet of paper again to yield eight folios (*octavo* format), with a documented range of folio size from 16 x 10 cm to 17 x 11.5 cm, while the smallest common size of manuscript from Aceh is obtained by folding the paper once more to give folios of approximately 10 x 8 cm. In general, the presence of illuminated double frames in manuscripts from Aceh can be linked to large manuscripts of *folio* size, while single headpieces predominate in *quarto* or *octavo*

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7. This accords broadly with Russell Jones's observations : during a visit to Tanoh Abee in 1979, from the surviving materials of the scriptorium he was given a blank sheet of Italian paper with untrimmed (deckle) edges, watermarked with the three crescents and double-headed eagle; this sheet measured 49.5 x 34.5 cm (Jones 1988 : 105). I am most grateful to Russell for his advice and comments on this section, and for the following useful tip for identifying the page format of a manuscript : "normally chain lines conform to this pattern : (1) *folio*, vertical in the leaf; (2) *quarto*, horizontal in the leaf; *octavo*, vertical, etc." (pers. e-comm., 12.7.2004).

manuscripts. Exceptions to this rule-of-thumb tend to be unidirectional : while there are a number of double frames found in smaller manuscripts, single headpieces are almost never found in large *folio*-sized books. As tailpieces can be found in both Qur'ans and non-Qur'anic texts, this type of illumination can be found on both a large and small scale.

***Artistic quality***

The finest examples of Acehnese manuscript illumination – in terms of artistry, skill, care of execution and visual impact – are decorated double frames, and, as explained above, these are also the largest manifestations of Acehnese illumination. It is hardly surprising that the finest known examples are found in copies of the Qur'an. As there is relatively little variation in structure, choice of ornamental motif or palette in examples of Acehnese illumination, evaluation of artistic quality tends to focus on the quality of execution and on the harmonious assemblage of the constituent elements of the structure and their relation to the surrounding margins of the double-page spread. Probably because of their location in copies of the Qur'an, many examples of double frames are executed with considerable care, even though the artistry may vary considerably.

By comparison, great variation can be seen in the quality of the single headpieces documented. Almost without exception, these are simpler constructs, with less elaborate decoration than found in double frames. In terms of both quality of execution and artistic skill, enormous variation is found, from fine aesthetically pleasing headpieces to relatively crude and simple examples. Tailpieces can also vary tremendously, from fine examples in Qur'ans to less careful manifestations in smaller books.

## Some fine illuminated manuscripts from Aceh

One of the finest known examples of Acehnese illumination only survives as two single separately-framed folios which originally constituted a double-page spread at the centre of a large Qur'an (KIT 674/845.a-b, see Fig. 1 & Pl. 3). All the characteristic elements of Acehnese illumination are present in these two frames, combined sympathetically in an elegant and harmonious composition. No other portions of this Qur'an survive; however, also in the KIT is a single framed folio with an exceptionally fine illuminated roundel containing an inscription (Pl. 2). From a comparison of the artistic quality and colours used, and the occurrence of the same plain coloured borders of red and ochre, each banded by a thin border of white, in all three folios, it is possible that this roundel derives from the same Qur'an manuscript. The inscription reads :

*hādhā al-Qur'ān Tuan Abdul Rahman Lam Badar wa-katibuhu Tuan Lebai Jamaluddin Lam Badar*

"this is the Qur'an of *Tuan* Abdul Rahman of Lam Badar, it was written by *Tuan Lebai* Jamaluddin of Lam Badar"

Although not attaining the elegance of proportion of the Lam Badar folios, a complete Qur'an in Leiden University Library (LUB Cod.Or.2064) is important for perhaps exemplifying the Acehnese style of manuscript illumination. Its iconic status is bolstered by what is known of its provenance : according to a report in the *Leidsche Courant* of 9 July 1873, it was found lying by the body of a dead priest in the Great Mosque of Aceh during the Dutch attack on the mosque in April 1873(8), and was taken by an infantry captain, J.H.A. Ijssel de Schepper(9). There are three fine sets of double frames at the beginning, middle and end of the manuscript; unusually, those in the middle and at the end are almost identical (Pl. 1).

Probably the most spectacularly illuminated complete Acehnese Qur'an manuscript known is now held in the National Library of Indonesia (PNRI A.694). As is common, there are three double frames at the beginning, middle and end; although based on the standard palette of red, yellow, black and reserved white, in this manuscript the colours are used in roughly equal proportions, countering the predominantly red colour scheme of the two Qur'ans discussed immediately above. The greatest glory of this Qur'an manuscript, though, are the double-page spreads with decorated frames, corner pieces and inscription panels that mark every *juz'*. Although such elaborate frames for each *juz'* are occasionally found in Qur'ans from all over Southeast Asia, this is the only known Acehnese Qur'an so adorned. Each *juz'* is in turn divided into eighths, which are further indicated in the margin by roundels labelled in Arabic *thumn* (eighth), *rub'* (quarter) and *nisf* (half), and the decoration of each of these roundels is unique. In addition, there are two fine tailpieces in this manuscript (cf. Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 45, 87, 88).

## Questions of origin and identity

The value of the schematic model outlined above is its use in identifying as Acehnese manuscripts of unknown provenance held in collections outside Aceh. For example, a Qur'an said to have been "written by a Malay", reproduced in 1913 in the first edition of the *Encylopaedia of Islam* (Vol.1, Pl.X),

8. On this attack, see Perang 1990 : 57.

9. The newspaper report, which has been tipped in at the beginning of the manuscript, reads : *De stoomboot* Prins van Oranje *heeft een zeer merkwaardig voorwerp medegebragt, nl. een schoon exemplaar van den Koran, dat door den heer J.H.A. IJssel de Schepper, kapitein der infanterie, gevonden is in den Missigit van Groot-Atjeh bij het lijk van een gesneuvelden priester. Dit niet slechts om zijn oorsprong, maar ook om de aanteekeningen op de eerste bladen belangrijke handschriften is door den heer IJssel de Schepper uit het bivouac zeestrand te Atjeh den 27sten April aangeboden aan den hoogleerar de Goeje en door dezen aan de Leidsche verzameling van handschriften geschonken* (LUB Cod.Or.2064, flyleaf).

can now be identified as Acehnese (Fig. 9)[10]. Furthermore, on the strength of their illumination an Acehnese origin is proposed for two manuscripts of works by Nuruddin al-Raniri now held in South Africa : a copy of the *Sirāt al-Mustaqīm*, owned by Dr. Cassiem D'arcy, on the basis of its double frames (Munazzah 1998 : 22), and a manuscript of the *Akhbār al-akhirat* in the collection of Hadjie Muhammad Lutfie Ibrahim, from its characteristic single headpiece and tailpiece (Munazzah 1998 : 27-28).

Examples of Acehnese illumination have been identified in a large number of other institutions, and all known examples are listed in the Appendix. Some of these manuscripts arc hcld in Aceh while others have clear Aceh provenances, but for many others no information is available on their origins, and they have been included in the list due to their perceived adherence to the "Acehnese" style of illumination detailed above. In many of these cases, other criteria can be used to confirm the appropriateness of this decision; for example, there are a number of non-illuminated features that can be invoked to distinguish Acehnese Qur'ans from those produced in other parts of the Malay world. Furthermore, the type of non-Qur'anic texts illuminated in the Acehnese style shows a strong bias to the works of "Acehnese" *ulama* such as Nuruddin al-Raniri, Abdul Rauf of Singkel and his pupil Baba Daud (Teungku di Leupeu), author of the *Masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-mubtadī*, a very popular question-and-answer work on religious practice[11]. However, there are other illuminated manuscripts in collections in Aceh, or known to originate from Aceh, that exhibit different styles of illumination (Pl. 8).

This study therefore raises questions about what is meant by identifying as "Acehnese" examples of illumination in a manuscript, whether written in Arabic, Malay or Acehnese. Does it necessarily mean that the manuscript was produced in Aceh itself, or by an Acehnese? Further research shows that neither of these qualifications may always be true of a manuscript. For example, a manuscript of a *Kitab hikam* with a typically Acehnese single headpiece was copied on a Saturday in Jamadilakhir 1271 (February-March 1855) in the Acehnese hostelry or community centre in Mekkah (*pada rumah Aceh pada negeri Mekah yang musyarafah lagi 'ala*) (PNM MSS 2250). A more intriguing case is an exceptionally fine Qur'an with distinctively Acehnese double frames and corner pieces marking the beginning of *juz'* 16, from the collection of the Pesantran Al Khairiyah, West Java, which is said to have been "calligraphed by Mas Muhammad bin Husen at Mekkah" (Buchari 1992 : 44). The title *Mas* suggests that the calligrapher

10. The source of this illustration has not yet been identified.

11. In comparison, examples of illumination in non-Qur'anic manuscripts from the east coast of the Malay peninsula tend to be found in texts in praise of the Prophet such as *Kitab mawlid*, and the popular prayerbook *Dalā'il al-khayrāt*.



Fig. 8 – Panel containing a surah heading showing the exaggerated *ha* of *Fātihah*, set in the double frames at the beginning of a Qur'an. PNRI A.648, f.1a

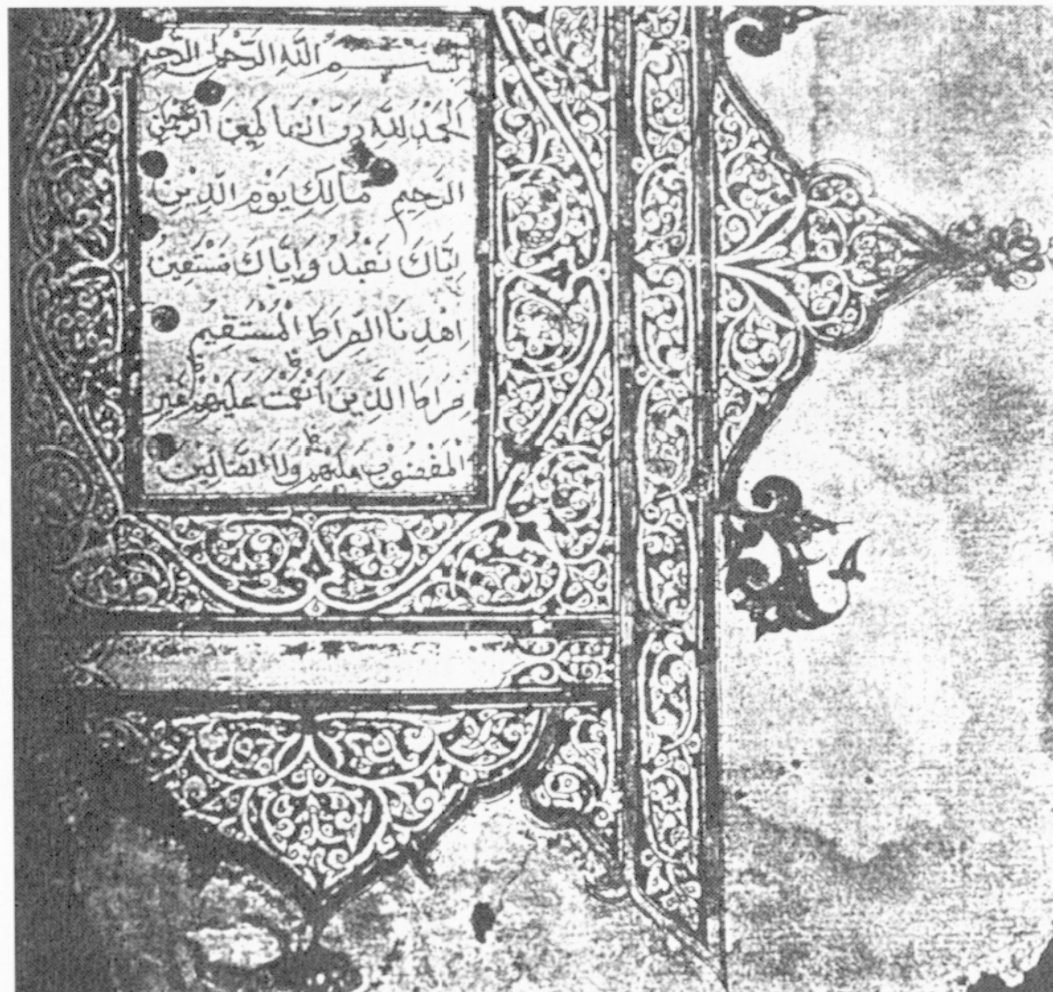


Fig. 9 – Part of a right-hand page of a typically Acehnese double frame, published in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (1913 : I.Pl.X), and described as "Sura I, from a Kor'an written by a Malay"

was from Java, but even if he did not himself illuminate the manuscript but worked together with an Acehnese artist, the fact that he wrote a Qur'an with a reduced textblock at the beginning of *juz'* 16, designed to receive an illuminated frame, shows that he was working within the Acehnese tradition of Qur'an production rather than the Javanese(12). Thus in this particular case we have a Qur'an illuminated in the Acehnese style, produced in Mekkah by an apparently non-Acehnese scribe, in the collection of a Sundanese *pesantren*. These examples suggest that the Acehnese style of illumination discussed in this article is defined not necessarily by its place of production or even by the ethnic identity or sense of identity of the artists involved, but by conformity to certain artistic conventions associated with manuscripts produced within a self-consciously Acehnese cultural milieu.

## Concluding remarks

This article has been entitled "An Acehnese style of manuscript illumination", and is based on a large corpus of manuscripts dating from the 18th and 19th centuries. It describes what is so far the only identifiable artistic school of manuscript illumination from Aceh; while there are certainly other illuminated manuscripts from Aceh which exhibit different decorative features, there are not significant numbers in any other single recognizable artistic style. Yet it is tantalizing to ponder on what kind of illuminated manuscripts might have been produced in the heyday of Aceh in the 16th and early 17th centuries, when after the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511 Aceh rose to become the most powerful Islamic kingdom in Southeast Asia. The illuminated letters from Sultan Iskandar Muda to King James I of England of 1615, and that from Sultan Iskandar Thani to Prince Hendrik Frederik of 1639, remain without peer(13), and even though it has been cautioned that illumination in royal Malay letters does not necessarily parallel developments in manuscript books(14), these examples nonetheless suggest a degree of refinement and artistic skill not matched in the later manuscripts discussed in this article. But no illuminated manuscripts from Aceh dating from before ca.1750 – and, most significantly, no Qur'ans – have yet been documented. Thus, for the present, all that can be said with some confidence is that a distinctive school of Acehnese manuscript illumination can be identified, and it flourished at least from the late 18th century until the end of the 19th century.

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**12.** This is because in Qur'ans from Java, a double frame located in the middle of the text invariably marks the start of the *Surat al-Kahf* (Qur'an, S.18 : 1), and not the start of *juz'* 16 (Qur'an S.18 : 75) as in Acehnese manuscripts. For more discussion on regional variations in Qur'an manuscripts from Southeast Asia, see Gallop 2003.

**13.** On the illumination of these letters see Gallop 1998.

**14.** Cf. Gallop 2002a : 5.

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**APPENDIX**

## A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Illuminated in the Acehnese Style

This appendix lists all manuscripts illuminated in the "Acehnese style" described in this article known to the present writer. All the manuscripts have been inspected personally and documented photographically, unless indicated otherwise. Collections in the Netherlands and the UK have been searched reasonably thoroughly, based on the catalogues by Voorhoeve (1970, 1994), Witkam (1986), Wieringa (1998) and Iskandar (1999). The manuscripts in collections in Aceh listed here were noted *en passant* during a visit to Aceh in November 1993, but full details of illumination were not made at that time; there are undoubtedly many more illuminated manuscripts in Aceh which have not been documented. The other major lacuna is probably the Bayt al-Qur'an and Museum Istiqlal in Jakarta, which holds an important collection of Qur'ans from all over Indonesia.

The descriptions of the manuscripts are limited to the following elements (when available) : title; nature of illumination and its location in the work; colours used; size of folio; provenance/date; bibliographical references to reproductions of the illuminated elements. All examples of illumination in the manuscript are listed, even if these include elements – especially tailpieces – not wholly in the "Acehnese style", but illuminated manuscripts from Aceh which do not include any examples of illumination in the "Acehnese style" are not listed.

### Abbreviations used in the descriptions

| | |
|---|---|
| CP | corner pieces |
| DF | decorated double frames |
| DHP | double headpiece |
| MS(S) | manuscript(s) |
| *S.* | *Sūrah* |
| SHP | single headpiece |
| TP | tailpiece |
| f.c. | front cover |
| w.o. | without |

### Abbreviations of institutions

| | |
|---|---|
| BL | British Library, London |
| DTA | Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh |
| IAMM | Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur |
| KIT | Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam |
| KITLV | Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden |
| LUB | Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek |
| MNA | Museum Negeri Aceh, Banda Aceh |

| | |
|---|---|
| MSM | Muzium Sastera Melaka |
| NVM | Nijmeegs Volkenkundig Museum |
| PNM | Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur |
| PNRI | Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta |
| RMV | Rijkmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden |
| UBA | Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam |
| UBU | Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht |
| WMR | Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam |
| YAH | Yayasan Ali Hasjmy, Banda Aceh |
| YMA | Yayasan Masagung, Toko Buku Wali Songo, Jakarta |

## Indonesia

**DTA**
Qur'an. DF : middle (beg. of *juz'* 16). Red, yellow, black, reserved white.

**DTA**
Qur'an. DF : beginning *(S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*). Red, black, yellow, reserved white.

**DTA**
Qur'an. DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*). Pameran (1981). [Not seen; said to have been stolen after the 1981 exhibition in Banda Aceh.]

**MNA**
Qur'an. DF : beginning. Red, green, grey, yellow. [Only pencil sketch available.]

**MNA**
[*Fiqh & tauhid*]. DF : beginning. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. [Only pencil sketch available.]

**MNA**
*Bidāyat al-hidāyah*. DF : beginning, w.o. wings. Red, yellow, green, black. [Only pencil sketch available.]

**MNA**
*Hikayat Meukuta Alam*. SHP : beginning. Abdullah 1991 : 799 (beginning). [Not seen.]

**PNRI A.221**
Qur'an. 3 DF & CP : pp. 1-2 (S. *al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); pp. 291-2 (beg. of *juz'* 16); pp. 597-8 (S. *al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*); TP : p. 289 (end of *juz'* 15). Red, yellow, dark blue, reserved white. 31.5 x 21 cm. Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 46 (pp. 1-2).

**PNRI A.354**
*Minhāj al-tālibīn*. SHP : f.1a, with inscription : *kitab Haji Muhammad*. DHP : ff.108a-b, with inscription : *sahib al-kitab Haji Muhammad*. Red, black, reserved white. 22 x 15 cm. 1845. Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 42 (ff.108a-b).

**PNRI A.504**
*Syarh fī bayān al-majāz wa-al-tashbīh.* DF : pp.1a-b; w.o. extended verticals or wings; not typical. Red, yellow, black. SHP : p.2a. Yellow, black ink, reserved white. TP : p.22b. Red, yellow, black ink, reserved white. Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 44 (pp.1a-b).

**PNRI A.516.B**
*Qawā'id al-'Arabiyyah.* 4 SHP : ff.4v, 10v, 21v, 27v. 2 TP : ff. 20v, 26r, w.o. extended verticals. CP : many pages. Red, black, reserved white. 20 x 16 cm. Found in Keumala by Captain K. van der Maaten (Voorhoeve 1994 : 293). Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 48 (f.21v).

**PNRI A.558.D**
Qur'an; selections (*S. al-Kahf*, etc.). DF : ff.1a-b. Black ink. 16 x 10 cm.

**PNRI A.578**
*Al-Nahw wa-al-sarf.* SHP : f.42a. TP : f.84b. Red, black, reserved white.

**PNRI A.582**
*Dalā'il al-khayrāt.* SHP : f.1a. Black ink.

**PNRI A.646**
Qur'an. DF : ff.1a-b (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*). 30.5 x 22.5 cm. Inscriptions : p.(i) : *hadha al-Qur'an wakaf Cut di Bulan diwakafkan akan Pu Ba Putih anak Panglima Mu'in Lung Bata dan akan adindanya yang bernama Pu Nyak Mas dan Pu Cuq Ayam (a.y.m) dan akan segala kerabatnya.* p.(iii) : *hadha Qur'an al-'azim wakaf Pu Huwa pada tangan Muhammad Marahaban Lam Buhuq.* f.2a : *hadha al-Qur'an al-'azim wakaf Cut di Bulan Lung Bata akan anakku semuhanya iaitulah yang bernama Pu Ba Putih anak Panglima Mu'in Lung Bata jua dan akan syaudaranya yang nama Pu Cuq Mas dan Pu Nyak Alim (a.l.y.m) dan akan segala kerabat semuanya.*

**PNRI A.648**
Qur'an. 2 DF : ff.1a-b (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), badly damaged by ink degradation; ff.395a-b (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*). Red, yellow, dark green, reserved white. 34 x 21 cm. Inscription (scratched out): *wakaf Qur'an ini Cut Nyak Banun anak Teuku Lam Yung syaudara Teuku Blang Kapur.* New inscription : *wakaf Qur'an ini Nyak Mansur[?] anak r.b.l. Mat Sa'id.*

**PNRI A.694**
Qur'an. 3 DF : pp.1-2 (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); pp. 347-8 (beg. of *juz'* 16); pp. 715-6 (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*). 2 TP : p. 345 (end of *juz'* 15); p. 712 (colophon : copied in Ramadan on a Friday at doha). CP : every *juz'*, with full outer page frame. 1841. Ownership note on f.1r : *Tuan Teungku Aceh Kampung Blang*, dated Jumadilakhir 1267 (April-May 1851). Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 45 (pp. 165-6), 87 (pp. 347-8), 88 (p. 712).

**PNRI A.700**
Qur'an. DF : ff.1v-2r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), badly damaged. Red, yellow, dark green, reserved white. 32 x 22 cm.

**PNRI Ml.284**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF : pp. 4-5, w.o. side wings & arches. Brown ink. Colophon on p. 398 : dated 1239 (1823/4).

**PNRI Ml.290**
*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān.* DF : pp.1-2. Red, ochre, black ink, reserved white. Inscription on f.1r : *wa-sahibi hadha al-tafsir al-naqsir Seri Raja Faqih Lam Taman sanat 1199* (1784/5). Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 59 (pp. 1-2).

**PNRI Ml.318**
*Bidāyah al-mubtadī bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdī.* SHP : p. 110. Red, black, reserved white.

**PNRI Ml.322**
*Tafsīr al-Qur'ān.* TP. Red, yellow, black ink, reserved white.

**PNRI Ml.327**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* SHP : p.1. Black ink.

**PNRI Ml.328**
*Bidāyat al-hidāyah*, etc. SHP : p.1, heavily laminated. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. TP : p.132, half laminated. Black ink. SHP : p. 226. Brown ink. TP : p. 266, w.o. extended verticals. Brown, black ink. Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 62 (p. 226).

**PNRI Ml.341**
*Al-Mawā'iz al-badī'ah.* SHP : p. 2. TP : p. 80, not typical. Yellow, red, black, reserved white. Dated 27 Syawal 1250 (26 February 1835). Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 70 (p.80).

**PNRI Ml.344**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF : p. 1 (left-hand page of what was probably a DF; severely cropped). TP : p. 375, w.o. lower arches.

**PNRI Ml.349**
*Syattariyyah.* SHP : p. 1. Red, black ink, reserved white.

**PNRI Ml.370**
Various texts. 2 TP : pp. 21, 22. Red, yellow, reserved white.

**PNRI Ml.375**
*Umm al-barāhīn*, etc. SHP : p. 20. Red, black, reserved white ; partially monochrome.

**PNRI Ml.377**
[A]. *Masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-mubtadī.* SHP : p.1. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. [B]. *Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdī.* SHP : p. 25. Black ink.

**PNRI Ml.397**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF : pp. 14-15, unfinished. Black ink.

**PNRI Ml.417**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF : pp. 1-2, heavily laminated. Black ink.

**PNRI MI.480**
*Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdī.* SHP : f.1a, with the word *Allāh* upside down at the top of the central arch. Red, black, reserved white.

**PNRI MI.484**
*Masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-mubtadī.* SHP : p.1, with text upside down within central arch. Black ink.

**PNRI MI.504**
*Bidāyat al-hidāyah.* SHP : f.4a. Red, black, reserved white.

**YAH**
Qur'an. DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), damaged on right-hand page. Red, ochre, dark blue, reserved white.

**YAH**
Qur'an. DF : middle (beg. of *juz'* 16), water stained. Red, yellow, green, reserved white.

**YAH**
Qur'an. DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*). Red, yellow, green, reserved white.

**YMA**
Qur'an. 2 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); end (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*). Red, ochre, black, reserved white.

## Malaysia

**IAMM 1998.1.3454**
Qur'an; lacking beginning and end. DF : middle (beg. Of *juz'* 16). Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 33 x 22 cm.

**PNM MSS 2144**
[B.] *'Aqīdat al-'awwām.* TP : end. Red, black, reserved white. 23.5 x 17 cm. Copied by Teungku Haji bin Kelempong Minyek, negeri Gunung Samidan, on Tuesday 27 Muharam. [Not seen.] Katalog 2000 : f.c (end); Gallop 2002 : 250 (end).

**PNM MSS 2164**
[*Kitab sembahyang*, etc.]. SHP : [f.1v]. Red, ochre, green, black, reserved white. 20.5 x 16 cm. Scribe : Lebai Daya. Manuskrip [199?] : f.c. ([ff.1v-2r]); Gallop 2002 : 250 ([ff.1v-2r]).

**PNM MSS 2248**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF : [ff.1v-2r]. Red, yellow, blue, reserved white. 23 x 16.5 cm. Scribe : *Teungku Haji Gampung Jempa.* Gallop 2002 : 232-3, 235 ([ff.1v-2r]).

**PNM MSS 2249**
[B.] *Sullam al-mustafīdīn.* SHP : [f.9v], unfinished. Black ink. 21.5 x 16 cm. Gallop 2002 : 257 ([f.9v]).

**PNM MSS 2250**
*Kitab hikam*. SHP : [f.1v]. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 23 x 16 cm. Copied on 12 Jumadilawal 1271 (31 January 1855) *pada rumah Aceh pada negeri Mekah yang musyarafah lagi 'ala*. Gallop 2002 : 251 ([ff.1v-2r]).

**PNM MSS 2255**
*Hidāyat al-habīb fī al-targhīb wa-al-tarhīb*. SHP : [f.1v]. Red, ochre, black ink, reserved white. 23 x 17 cm.

**PNM MSS 2266**
*Sabīl al-muhtadīn li taqafah fī amar al-dīn*. SHP : [f.1r], MS incomplete, lacking first page. Black & brown ink. 23 x 16 cm.

**PNM MSS 2328**
[A.] *Bab al-nikah*. TP : [f.36v], w.o. arches. CP : many pages. [B.] *Qawā'id al-Islām*. SHP : [ff.37v-38r]. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 21.5 x 16 cm. Colophon : dated 10 bulan Haji (Zulhijah), year not stated, owner Teuku Lebai Amin. Gallop 2002 : 242 ([ff.37v-38r]); Katalog 2003 : 12 ([ff.37v-38r]).

**PNM MSS 2399**
*Sayr al-sālikīn ila 'ibādah rabb al-'ālamīn*. [*Bahagian 3*]. SHP : beginning. Black ink. 21 x 15.5 cm. Inscribed : *kepunyaan Teungku di Lampoh*. Katalog 2003 : 32 (beginning).

**PNM MSS 2464**
*Jawāhir al-'ulum fī kashf al-ma'lum*. SHP, f.1v. Red, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

**PNM MSS 2466**
[A.] *Risalah pada menyatakan zat Allah dan segala sifatNya*. SHP : f.1v, monochrome. [C.] *'Umdat al-muhtājīn*. DF : ff.22v & 24r (the MS has been mis-bound with f.23 inserted between ff.22 and 24), monochrome with f.22v partially coloured. Red, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

**PNM MSS 2467**
*Hidāyat al-sālikīn*. SHP : [f.1v], damaged. Red, black, reserved white. MS dated 24 Jumadilakhir 1287 (21 September 1870). 22.5 x 15.5 cm.

**PNM MSS 2471**
*Akhbār al-ākhirah fī ahwāl al-qiyāmah*. SHP : [f.1v], damaged, repaired. Red, black, reserved white. With twisted rope motif doodled on f.1r. 23 x 17 cm.

**PNM MSS 2472**
*Sayr al-salikīn ila 'ibādah rabb al-'ālamīn*. [*Bahagian 3*]. SHP : [f.1v]. TP : [f.277r], w.o. extended verticals. Red, black, reserved white. 24 x 16 cm. Gallop 2002 : 249 ([ff.1v-2r], wrongly cited as MSS 2474); Katalog 2001 : f.c. ([f.277r]); Katalog 2003 : 22 ([ff.1v-2r]).

**PNM MSS 2505**
[A.] *Masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-mubtadī*. SHP : f.1v. [B.] *Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdī*. SHP : f.10v. Red, black, reserved white; both mostly

monochrome. 22.5 x 15.5 cm. Scribe : Teungku Muhammad copied in Bandarsah Lengku'.

**PNM MSS 2509**
[A.] *Bidāyat al-hidāyah.* SHP : f.1v. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 22 x 16 cm.

**PNM MSS 2512**
[A.] *Hukum nikah.* DF : [ff.1v-2r]. Red, black, reserved white; right-hand page monochrome. 21 x 15 cm.

**PNM MSS 2620**
[A.] *Tadhkīr al-ghabī.* SHP : [f.2v]. Black ink. 21 x 16.5 cm.

**PNM MSS 2653**
[A.] *Asrār al-sulūk ila malik al-mulūk.* SHP : [f.1v]. Black, red, reserved white. 22 x 16 cm. Dated 30 Syawal 1287 (23 January 1871).

**PNM MSS 2654**
*Hidāyat al-habīb fī al-targhīb wal-al-tarhīb.* SHP : [f.1v]. TP : [f.117r]. Red, yellow, green, black; these garish and crude modern colours were probably applied recently to an originally monochrome headpiece, without leaving any reserved white as is usual in the Acehnese tradition. Inscribed at end : *inilah kitab pemberi daripada Lebai Muda kepada Muhamamd Yapi ibn Teungku Muda Jalung yang menuntut daripada Syaikhna Lapang.*

**PNM MSS 2859**
[*Hadis empat puluh*]. SHP : [f.1v], unusual design. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

**PNM MSS 2988**
*Diyā' al-warā ilā sulūk tariqāt al-ma'būd al-'āla.* SHP : f.1v. 2 TP : monochrome, one (half); one w.o. extended verticals. Red, black, yellow, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

**PNM MSS 3153**
Qur'an. 2 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); end (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*), repeated after end of Qur'anic text. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. Gallop 2002 : 247 (beginning); Katalog 2003 : 19 (beginning).

**PNM MSS 3264**
Qur'an. 3 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), damaged; middle (beg. of *juz'* 16); end (*S. al-Nās* on the right-hand page & *S. al-Falaq* on the left-hand page), damaged. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 33 x 20 cm. Inscription at the end of *juz'* 15 : *hadha al-wakaf Pu Khadijah pada tangan Teungku Ahmad Lam Tengah ibn Syaikhna Teungku Mahmud al-Ma'ruf.*

**PNM MSS 3265**
Qur'an. 3 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), v. smudged; middle (beg. of *juz'* 16); end (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*). Red, ochre, black, reserved white.

**PNM (new aquisition, 2/04)**
*Mawā'iz al-badi.* SHP. Red, yellow, blue, black; recently coloured in with colour pencils, probably an originally monochrome headpiece.

**PNM (new aquisition, 2/04)**
*Hujjat al-bālighah 'alā jamā'at al-mukhāsamah.* SHP. TP. Red, ochre, dark blue, reserved white. Inscription in SHP : ... *wa-sahibihi al-kitab Teungku Imam Chik.*

**PNM (new aquisition, 2/04)**
*Mir'at al-tullāb.* DF : beginning. Red, ochre, blue, reserved white. 32 x 20 cm.

**PNM (new aquisition, 2/04)**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF : beginning. Monochrome, black ink.

**PNM (new aquisition, 2/04)**
Qur'an. 3 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of *juz'* 16); end (blank), this is bound in between *S. al-Humazah* and *S. al-Kautsar*; may have been intended to enclose *S. al-Nās*, as the Qur'an ends with *S. al-Falaq* repeated twice. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 33 x 23 cm.

**MSM**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF : beginning, very fine. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. [Information from photograph of right-hand page of DF; MS not seen.]

**The Netherlands**

**KIT 481/94**
Qur'an. DF : end (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*), w.o. wings. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 32 x 22 cm. [Information from KIT database; MS on exhibition in 2003; not seen.]

**KIT 674/811**
[A.] *Masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-mubtadī.* SHP (f.1v); CP. [B.] *Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdī.* DF (ff.13v-14r); CP. [C.] *Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF (ff.71v-72r); CP; TP (f.105v; w.o. lower arches). [D.] *Qawā'id al-islām.* SHP (f.107v). Red, yellow, green, dark blue, black ink, reserved white. 21.5 x 15.5 cm.

**KIT 674/826**
*Hikayat Nabi mencuko.* 4 SHP (ff.16r, 48r, 118r, 123v). Black ink (monochrome). 10.5 x 8 cm.

**KIT 674/832**
Qur'an. 3 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of *juz'* 16); end (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*). Black ink (monochrome). 32 x 21 cm.

**KIT 674/833**
Qur'an. 3 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of *juz'* 16); end (*S. al-Nās*). Red, lemon yellow, black, reserved white. 32.5 x 22.5 cm.

**KIT 674/835.a & b**
Qur'an; beg. of *juz'* 16 only (Q.18 : 75-77). 2 ff., framed separately. DF (beg. of *juz'* 16). Red, ochre, black, reserved white. See also **674/755**, a single framed folio which

probably comes from the same MS, with an illuminated roundel naming the owner of the Qur'an as Tuan Abdul Rahman of Lam Badar and the scribe as Tuan Lebai Jamaluddin of Lam Badar.

**KIT 1482/1**
Qur'an. 2 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), no side wings; end (*S. al-Kāfirūn* to *S. al-Nās*), w.o. arches or side wings. Red, orange, dark blue, reserved white. 30 x 20.5 cm.

**KIT 3555/1**
Qur'an. 2 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); end (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*), w.o. side wings on right-hand page. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 30.5 x 20.5 cm. Aquired on the Passoemah expedition, 1866.

**KIT A 4179**
Qur'an. 2 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), damaged; end (blank). Red, yellow, dark green, black, reserved white. 31 x 19.5 cm. Note in pencil : *Qoran uit de masigit van Lhông ... Atjeh, expeditie met ... Tromp, Juni 1896, J. ... van deen* [?]

**KIT O 271**
*Tibyān fi ma'rifat al-adyan*. DF : beginning. Red, yellow, dark green, black ink, reserved white. 21 x 15 cm.

**KITLV Or. 200**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm*. DF : ff.2v-3r; TP : f.202r, w.o. extended verticals. Red, yellow, black ink, reserved white (partially monochrome). 20 x 15 cm. Colophon on f.202r : copied at Ara Jungkat on Sunday 12 Muharam during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Muhammad Syah (r.1781-1795) ibn Sultan Alauddin Mahmud Syah ibn Sultan Alauddin Johan Syah; scribe and owner Lebai Abdul Jamal of Padang Tiji.

**LUB Cod.Or.2064**
Qur'an. 3 DF : ff.7v-8r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); ff.187v-188r (beg. of *juz'* 16); ff.376v-377r (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*). (Half) TP : f.187r (end of *juz'* 15), monochrome. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 31.5 x 20 cm. Captured in the Mesjid Raya in Aceh, April 1873.

**LUB Cod.Or.2335**
Collection of texts. DF. Red, black, reserved white. 10 x 7.5 cm.

**LUB Cod.Or.3054.A**
Collection of fragments in Malay. SHP. Red, black.

**LUB Cod.Or.3063**
Prayer book. SHP. Red, black. 10 x 7.5 cm.

**LUB Cod.Or.4979**
Qur'an. 3 DF : ff.4v-5r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), f.4v monochrome, f.5r coloured; ff. 263v-264r (beg. of *juz'* 16), coloured; ff.518v-519r (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*), monochrome. TP : f.263v (end of *juz'* 15), w.o. arches. Many CP, coloured & monochrome. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

**LUB Cod.Or.5759**
Qur'an; *juz'* 6. SHP : beginning. Red ink. Endowment statement : *inilah wakaf Datuk Kam pada mesjid Bueng Cala jangan dipindah2 jikalau hampir sekalipun haramlah.*

**LUB Cod.Or.6318**
Qur'an. 3 DF : ff.1v-2r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); ff.171v-172r (beg. of *juz'* 16); ff.356v-357r (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*). TP : f.107v (end of *juz'* 15). Red, brown, black, reserved white; light green on ff.356v-357r may have been added later. 32 x 22.5 cm.

**LUB Cod.Or.6704**

Qur'an. 2 DF : ff.1v-2r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); ff.277v-278r (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*). Red, yellow, dark blue, reserved white. 32 x 21.5 cm.

**LUB Cod.Or.6975**
*Kisah dua blaih peukara.* SHP : pp. 1-2. Red, black, reserved white.Voorhoeve 1994 : 350 (p.1); Kumar & McGlynn 1996 : 90 (pp.1-2). [Not seen.]

**LUB Cod.Or.7057.a (10)**
*Ini perintah sembahyang.* SHP; CP. Monochrome : brown-black ink.

**LUB Cod.Or.7323**
*Sirāt al-mustaqī m.* DF : ff.1v-2r. TP : f.200v. Red, ochre, dark blue, reserved white. 21 x 15.5 cm. Inscription panel on f.1v : *bermula yang empunya kitab ini si hajat.*

**LUB Cod.Or.7591**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* DF : pp. 1-2. TP : p. 449 (damaged; stored in envelope). Red, ochre, blue, reserved white. 21 x 15.5 cm.

**LUB Cod.Or.14275**
Qur'an. 3 DF & CP : ff.2v-3r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); ff.159v-160r (beg. of *juz'* 16); ff.324v-325r (prayer). 31.5 x 20.5 cm. Witkam 1986 : 421 (f.159v).

**LUB Cod.Or.14317**
Qur'an. 2 DF : ff.3v-4r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); ff.404v-405r (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*), w.o. side arches or wings. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 21 x 15 cm. Note : this MS is small for an Acehnese Qur'an. Witkam 1986 : 442 (f.405r).

**LUB Cod.Or.17168**
*Risalah yang simpan pada menyatakan agama Islam dan sembahyang lima waktu dan segala barang yang bergantung dengan dia daripada segala syarat dan segala yang wajib*, composed by Haji Jalaluddin anak Syaikh Kamaluddin on 25 Muharam 1140 (12 September 1727) at the request of Sultan Alauddin Ahmad Syah 2 SHP : f.1r, f.2v; doodled. Black ink. 17 x 10 cm.

**LUB Cod.Or.17903**
*Bidāyat al-hidāyah.* DF : beginning. Red, ochre, black, reserved white; crudely coloured. 21 x 15.5 cm.

**NVM 3371** (previously from Rotterdam collection; old no. 42838)
Qur'an; incomplete, lacking end. DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), w.o. extended vertical columns. Red, orange, black, reserved white. 30.5 x 21 cm.

**RMV 148/15**
Qur'an. 2 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); end (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*). Red, yellow, black, reserved white. English paper, watermarked 'J Whatman 1849', 'S & C Wise 1846'; 31 x 21 cm.

**RMV 164/14**
Compendium of 6 Arabic texts. 3 SHP; TP (monochrome); many CP. Red, yellow, blue, black ink, reserved white. 21 x 15 cm. With a note by J.J. Korndöffer, 4 May 1871, Atjeh.

**RMV 164/16**
Qur'an; selections. SHP (beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), w.o. extended verticals. Red, reserved white. 23 x 16.5 cm.

**RMV 313/2**
Qur'an; beg. of *juz'* 16 only (Q.18 : 75-78). 1 f. (verso blank). DF (beg. of *juz'* 16), right-hand page only; w.o. side wings. Red, yellow, blue, black, reserved white. 34 x 23 cm.

**RMV 313/3**
Qur'an; beg. of *S. al-Baqarah* (Q.2 : 1-3). 1 f. (verso blank). DF (beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), right-hand page only. Orange, red, blue, brown, reserved white (unusual palette). 32 x 22.5 cm.

**RMV 521/1**
Compendium of Arabic texts. 2 SHP; TP (w.o. extended verticals); many CP. Red, black ink, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm.

**RMV 3600/10105**
Qur'an. 2 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); end (*S. al-Falaq & S. al-Nās*). Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 31 x 22 cm.

**RMV 3760/48**
Qur'an. 3 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beginning of *juz'* 16), stuck together; end (*S. al-Ikhlās & S. al-Falaq* on right-hand page; *S. al-Nās & S. al-Fātihah* on left-hand page). Red, orange, ochre, black, reserved white. 32 x 22.5 cm.

**UBA II H 58**
[A.] *Masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān (al-mubtadī)*. SHP (p. 1); TP (p. 25, w.o. lower arches). Dark brown ink (monochrome). [B.] *Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdī*. SHP (p. 1). Red, black, reserved white (partially monochrome). 21.5 x 16 cm.

**UBA II H 59**
*Bidāyat al-mubtadī bi-fadl Allāh al-muhdī*. DF (pp. 1-[i]). Ochre, orange, black,

reserved white. TP (p. 112, w.o. lower arches). Black ink, ochre (partially monochrome). 20.5 x 15.5 cm.

**UBA XXV C 3**
Qur'an; *juz'* 6 only. DF (beg. of *juz'* 6), w.o. side wings. Red, blue, ochre, reserved white. Inscription : *inilah Qur'an wakaf Abdul Salam dalam mesjid b.f.ḥ.l.a jangan dipindahkan akan dia.*

**UBU MS 1433** (HS 1.E.24; Or.52)
Qur'an. 3 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of *juz'* 16); end (*S. al-Nās* on RH; *S. al-Fātihah* on LH). Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 23 x 17 cm. (NB small for an Acehnese Qur'an).

**WMR 2597**
Qur'an. 3 DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); middle (beg. of *juz'*d of the Qur'anic text; all w.o. side wings. Red, ochre, black, reserved white. 30 x 20 cm. Inscription on f.2r : *Inilah Qur'an yang diwakafkan pada bandar Lam Badar.* Taken at the capture of Lam Nga; acquired b the Museum in 1885.

**U.K**

**BL Or.14194**
Various texts and prayers in Malay and Arabic. SHP : f.44v. Red, black, reserved white. 17 x 11.5 cm. Owner's name inside loose calf cover : *Abdullah anak Abdul Rasyid Tanoh Abee.*

**BL Or.15406**
Qur'an. 3 DF : ff.1v-2r (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), w.o. wings or side arches; ff.147v-148r (beg. of *juz'* 16); ff. 313v-314r (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*), w.o. wings or side arches. Black & brown ink. 28.5 x 20 cm. Colophon on f.315r : *Inilah Qur'an milik Teungku Ti orang baruh duduk pada nenggeri Lam Kubu tetapi Qur'an ini diwakaf pada tangan Teungku Abdul Kadir Lam Siwi.*

**BL Or.15979**
*Sirāt al-mustaqīm.* SHP : f.2v. Red, black, reserved white. 23 x 16.5 cm.

**BL Or.16034**
Qur'an; lacking beginning; text starts at *S. al-Baqarah*, Q.2 : 93. 2 DF : ff.119v-120r (beg. of *juz'* 16); ff.260v-261r (blank), after end of Qur'anic text. Orange, red, black, reserved white. 32 x 21.5 cm.

**BL Or.16035**
*Mir'at al-tullāb*; lacking first page. DF : f.1r, left-hand page only. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. 30 x 21 cm. Colophon at end gives date of 14 Muharam 1178 (14 July 1764).

**MSS in private collections, or only documented from published sources**

Qur'an. DF : beginning. EI 1913 : I.Pl.X.

Qur'an. DF : beginning (*S. al-Fātihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*), w.o. wings; end (*S. al-Falaq* & *S. al-Nās*), w.o. extended verticals or wings. Said to be *tulisan tangan Syekh Abdurrauf Syiahkuala* (Hasjmy 1983 : 220). Hasjmy 1983 : 221-2 (beginning), 223-4 (end).

Qur'an. DF : middle (beg. of *juz'* 16). Indonesia 1997 : 86.

Collection Cassiem D'arcy, Cape Town. *Sirāt al-mustaqīm*. DF : [pp. 1-2]. Red, black, reserved white. 22.5 x 16 cm. Munazzah 1998 : 22 ([p. 2]).

Collection Farish A. Noor, Berlin. Qur'an; *S. al-Baqarah*; in MS of the *Zikir Saman*. DF : [ff.1v-2r]. Red, yellow, black, reserved white. Inscription on [f.1r] : *Hadha al-surat al-dhikr al-Saman Teungku Muda Jalung... wa-katibuhu wa-rikamahu* [i.e. yang merekakannya] *Lebai Abdul Karim al-Lamiwi*, dated 1236 (1820/1).

Collection Muhammad Lutfie Ibrahim, Johannesburg. *Akhbār al-ākhirah fī ahwāl al-qiyāmah*. SH : f.2v; TP : f.113v. Red, black, reserved white. 21 x 17 cm. Munazzah 1998 : 27 (f.2v), 28 (f.113v).

Collection Nasser D. Khalili, London, QUR133. Qur'an. 3 DF : ff.1v-2r (*S. al-Fatihah* & beg. of *S. al-Baqarah*); ff.208v-209r (beg. of *juz'* 16); ff.416v-417r (blank), after end of Qur'anic text. TP : f.208r (end of *juz'* 15). Red, yellow, dark green, reserved white. 31.5 x 21 cm. Sotheby's 1990 : lot 170 (f.209r); Vernoit 1997 : 60 (ff.1v-2r); Bayani, Contadini & Stanley 1999 : 22-25 (ff.208r, 208v-209r); Piotrovsky 1999 : 12 (ff.1v-2r).

Collection Pesantren al-Khairiyah, West Java. Qur'an. DF : middle (beg. of *juz'* 16). Buchari 1992 : 44 (middle).

Private collection, London. [A.] *Masā'il al-muhtadī li ikhwān al-mubtadī*. SHP. [B.] [Unidentified religious text] DF. Red, black, reserved white. Sold at auction at Drouot, Paris, and at Christie's, London, 'Islamic art and Indian miniatures' sale on 23 April 1996, lot.64 (not illustrated).

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Pl. 1 – Double frame from the middle of a Qur'an captured in the Great Mosque of Aceh in 1873. (*LUB Cod.Or.2064, ff.187v-188r*).



Pl. 2 – Illuminated roundel from a Qur'an manuscript naming the owner as Tuan Abdul Rahman of Lam Badar and the scribe as Tuan Lebai Jamaluddin of Lam Badar. This loose folio may have belonged to the Qur'an of which Pl. 3 and Fig. 1 are the only surviving leaves. *(KIT 874-755).*



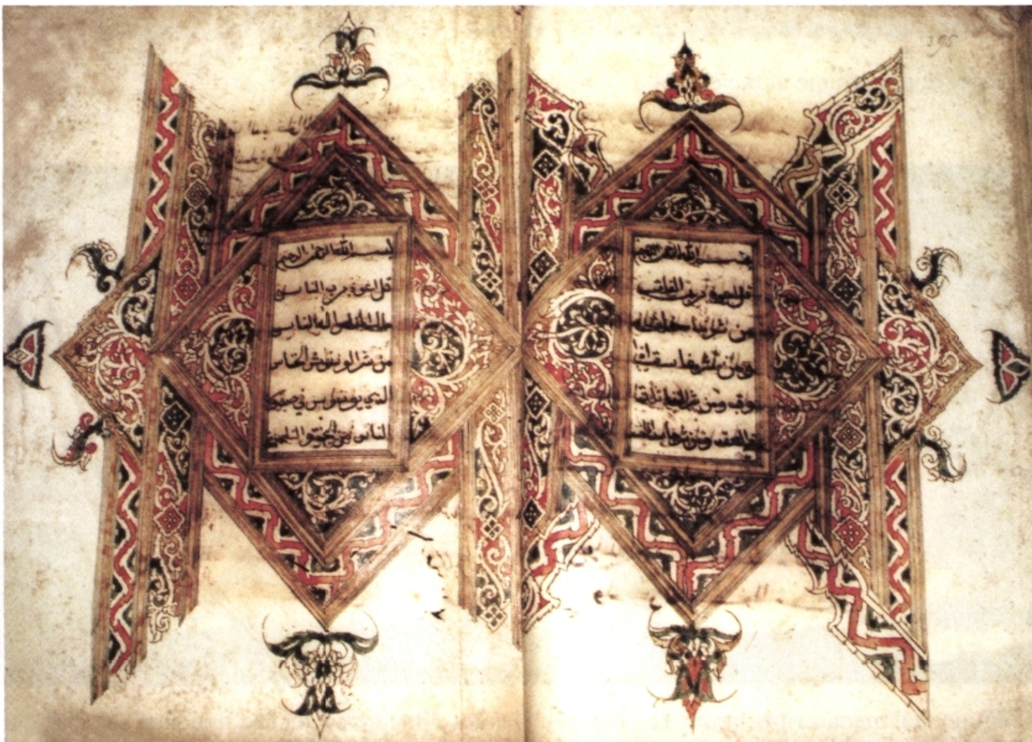
Pl. 3 – Right-hand page of a double frame from the middle of a Qur'an, marking the start of *juz'* 16 (*Sūrat al-Kahf*, v.75). *(KIT 674/845.a)*.



Pl. 4 – Left-hand page of a double frame from a manuscript of the *Mir'at al-tullāb* by Abdul Rauf of Singkel, dated 1764. The first part of the *shahadah* is set upside-down above and below the textblock. *(BL Or.16035, f.1r).*



Pl. 5 – Double frame at the end of a Qur'an enclosing the *Sūrat al-Nās*, with arches floating freely above and below the superstructure of the frames. *(KIT 674/833)*.



Pl. 6 – Double frame at the end of a Qur'an enclosing the *Sūrat al-Falaq* and *Sūrat al-Nās*, with diamond-shaped borders around the textblock. *(PNRI A.648, ff.395a-b)*.



Pl. 7 – Empty double frame at the end of a Qur'an. *(KIT A 4179)*.



Pl. 8 – Illuminated manuscripts in the Yayasan Ali Hasjmy, Banda Aceh. The two Qur'ans in the bottom row and that in the middle of the top row have double frames in the Acehnese style, but the Qur'an at top left and the *Kitab Mawlid* on the far right are illuminated in different styles.




Pl. 9 – Single headpiece and monochrome corner pieces in an Arabic grammatical work. *(PNRI A.516.B, ff.27v-28r).*




Pl. 10 – Single headpiece in another manuscript of the same work on Arabic grammar, where the constituent elements of the structure have been pared down to the bare essentials. *(PNRI A.578, ff.42a-b).*



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي جعل ادم خليفة لتنفيذ
احكامه في ارضه وجعل الانبياء وسيلة لدخول
جنته وجعل العلماء امانة لعباده ودينه
سگل فوج٢ ثابت بکر الله توهن يڠ تله منجديکن اي
اکن نبي ادم خليفة بکر مڠمفت ملوسکن حکمڽ دالم
بوميڽ دان منجديکن سکلين انبياء اکن جالن
ملوڤ شرݢا دان منجديکن سکل علما کفرچيان بکر سکلي
همباڽ دان اݢماڽ والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا
محمد خاتم انبيائه ورسله واله وصحبه وحزبه

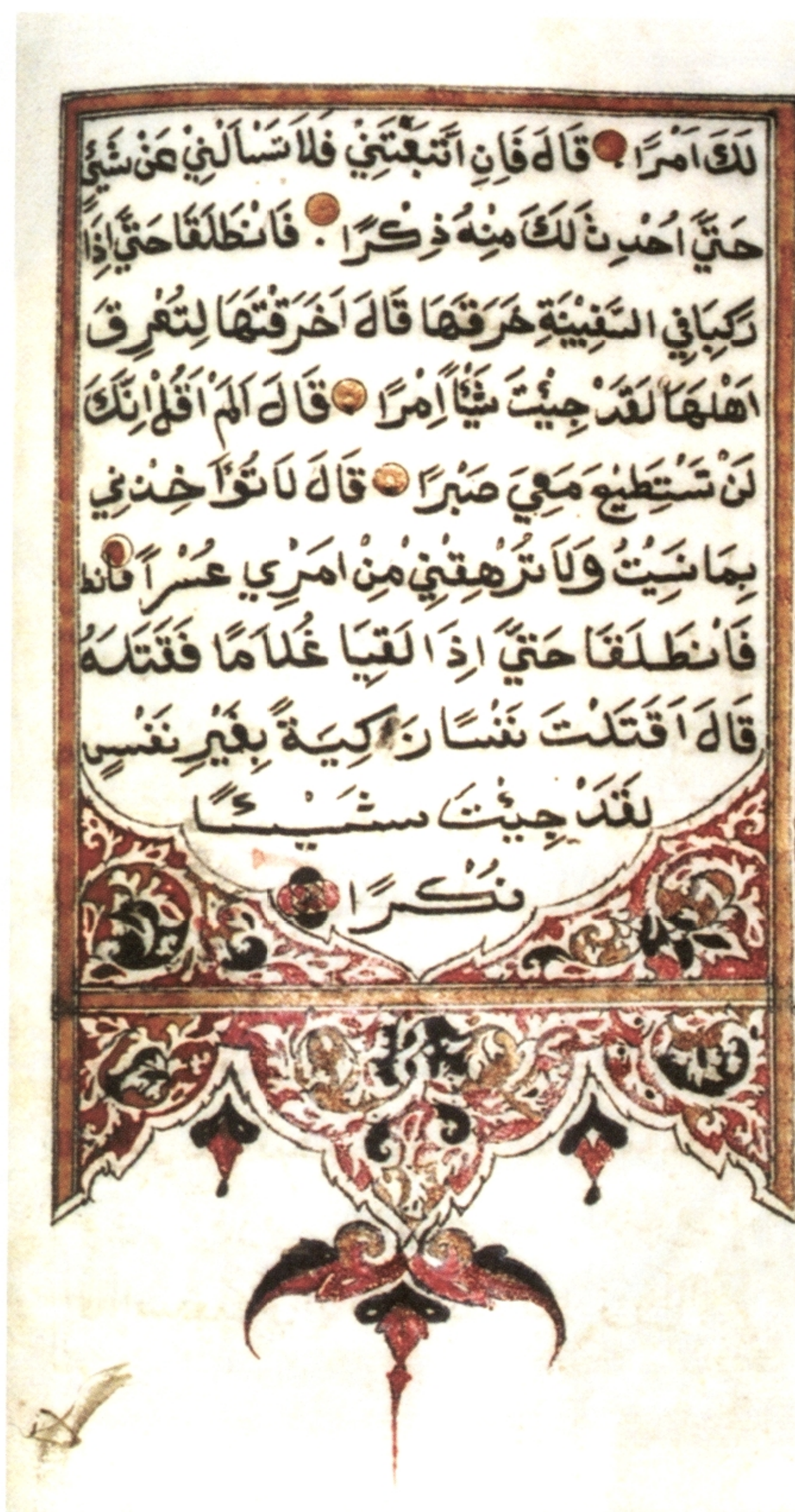
Pl. 11 – Single headpiece with an inscription panel naming the owner of the manuscript as Teungku Imam Chik. *Hujjat al-bālighah 'alā jamā 'at al-mukhāsamah. PNM (new acquisition).*



Pl. 12 – Tailpiece from the same manuscript, containing the colophon confirming the name of the owner as Teungku Imam Chik of Batu Lantang. *PNM (new acquisition).*



Pl. 13 – Tailpiece from a compendium of Arabic texts. *(RMV 164/14)*.


لك امرا ۞ قال فان اتبعتني فلا تسألني عن شيء
حتى احدث لك منه ذكرا ۞ فانطلقا حتى اذا
ركبا في السفينة خرقها قال اخرقتها لتغرق
اهلها لقد جئت شيئا امرا ۞ قال الم اقل انك
لن تستطيع معي صبرا ۞ قال لا تؤاخذني
بما نسيت ولا ترهقني من امري عسرا ۞ فانط
فانطلقا حتى اذا لقيا غلاما فقتله
قال اقتلت نفسا زكية بغير نفس
لقد جئت شيئا
نكرا

Pl. 14 – Tailpiece from the end of *juz'* 15 of the Qur'an. *(LUB Cod.Or.6318, f.170v).*







Pl. 15 – Four examples of Acehnese corner pieces : *KIT 674/811* (top left) ; *PNRI A.516B, f.20v* (top right and bottom right) ; *LUB Cod.Or.4979, f.191r* (bottom left). The simple tailpiece below lacks the characteristic Acehnese extended verticals and lower arches but shows an affinity of design and composition with the corner pieces ; *KIT 674/811, f.105v*.